

If somebody wanted to make a study of an uncorrupted village lad, who is pure of heart, quick of mind, ~~max~~ dexterous of hand, and independent in attitude - I would strongly recommend the respondent as the subject of such a study.

The mentality of such people was responsible for the amazing fact that Budapest did not starve during the Revolution. Such were the people in villages who organized the/assembly and shipping of food to Budapest.  
amazing

I helped and observed the respondent to conduct a difficult conversation with a representative of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which was responsible for his coming to the United States. That employee was a frustrated, Hungarian woman, a one time teacher in Hungary, who has not been able to find a job in her own profession, ~~max~~ has not yet managed to learn English well, not has she yet become familiar with the mentality or viewpoints of American democracy. She was haughty and impatient in her talk with respondent. The respondent behaved in an intelligent, dignified, and ~~max~~/controlled manner.  
self

I had to find a hotel room for the respondent, and since there was no other way, I had to continue the interview in that hotel room, until late at night. Respondent was calm and untiring, and kept in good humor ~~max~~/the time, despite the fact, as he said, that he was all not used to staying up so late.

Next day, respondent left for New Jersey to see a friend who had ~~promixas~~ promised to find work for him. Since respondent at that time still did not know a word of English, I accompanied him to the train, arranged for his tickets, and spoke to the conductor, and saw him off.

In all of these situations, he behaved just the same, calm but attentive, dignified but with amiable disposition, and alert but not ~~max~~ nervous.

THE END

## CHARACTER DESCRIPTION

Respondent is about 5 feet, 8 inches in height. He is very well built, and just the right weight, perhaps a little bit on the slender side.

He has yellow hair, and gray blue eyes. His complexion is fair, in fact somewhat more fair than that of most Hungarians. He has a high and wide forehead, but other than this, his facial features have no particularly unusual lineaments or aspects. The forehead is in harmonious relation with the rest of the face, and is the type of forehead generally described as a "bright" one.

(I do not agree with this appellation, and quote it for no other reason than facilitating the description)

The European anthropologists would say that the respondent is a typical East Baltic, with some Nordic influences.

During the entire interview, respondent was particularly intent, attentive, tense, but in no way nervous. His choice of words reflected on one hand a very profound and rich peasant culture, but on the other hand a great lack of formal education. (Peasant language culture in Hungary is very rich, but in many ways it differs from the more literary or larger vocabulary used by those with more formal education. In the last decade there has been an increasing fusion of the two, which fusion had started at the end of the 1930's).

On several occasions, it happened that the respondent mistook one word for another, when he ~~tried~~ tried to use phrases with which he was not familiar enough because of his lack of formal education.

A love of independence, kindness, understanding, and mildness are particularly striking characteristics of the respondent. ~~His~~ Great affection for his family, and for his nation; faithful and pure love for a girl in his village, and friendliness and helpfulness toward fellow human beings are characteristic of the respondent. Conversations interwoven in the interview, as well as his behavior toward others in the hotel where refugees are housed, gave me the above impressions.

In the families he knew, said respondent, physical punishment for boys usually stopped at 17 years of age, although scoldings and threats continued. In the case of girls, physical punishment stopped at ages 14 or 15.

As regards differences in punishment as between different social classes, respondent, respondent said he had too little experience to discuss this.

Concerning the question of changes during the last ten years in the way children are disciplined during their first eight years in school, respondent said that before there were more spankings, more hitting on the palms or ~~with~~ nails, more of pulling hair or ears, also more kneeling or standing in the corner, but now less of these things is practised, although much of what he knows about this is from what other people have told him.

As regards what is most valued in a ~~fast~~ friend, <sup>by</sup> respondent he said: "Truthfulness in actions as well as words; respect for other human beings; love of one's family and friends; helpfulness."

End 11xA

## XX. CHILD REARING AND DISCIPLINE

Respondent believes that the most important things a child should be taught are the following: "The love of God and of fellow human beings; honesty; love of truth above all. ~~religious~~ religious adherence to moral laws; ~~faith~~ faithfulness in marriage; and the love of children; sticking together in trouble, and not letting people down when they are at the bottom."

Asked how to discipline a child, respondent said that in his family kind words and persuasion were used, and that every child should be taught to ~~learn~~ seek and appreciate advice from parents and others, but should not be forced too much to do this. "Since it has been found that dogs can be trained without threats and beatings, I feel children can also be trained like this." Although a slap in the face sometimes, or spanking for a small child, may be necessary, nevertheless the important thing is to start early to train the child in ~~what~~ what is right and what is wrong."

Asked ~~for~~ for an example from his own life, respondent said: "When I was 12 years old, or so, my mother told me to feed the chickens. Since I had already fed them, I became mad, and cried that she should have known this. This hurt her feelings, and she slapped me on the mouth. Then she said that the Holy Mother ~~was~~ had never been talked to by little Jesus in the way I had. I apologized and admitted she was right. She kissed me, and that was the end of the matter."

Respondent said that the one in the family who punished the child was the one who saw the incident happen, and the punishment usually was a more or less severe scolding and of some threatening. But, he adds, the threats were not carried out, in most cases.

Respondent said the fathers were not so close to the children as were the mothers, because they were busy with their work in the field, and so it was the mother who punished the smaller children. Older children worked with the father, hence he did the punishing there.

D. Goals of Western Groups. Respondent said he thought that lying propaganda of the Russians and Communists should be countered by propaganda which says the truth. But he adds that not even this propaganda is not honest enough.

Questioned as to what the ultimate goals of these organizations might be, respondent replied: that he had hoped that these goals would be nothing less than world wide freedom.

When asked whether he feels that different organizations had different objectives, respondent said: "B.B.C. always adheres to the truth, and gives only factual information, whereas Radio Free Europe talks a lot and often without real foundation."

(Interviewer's remark: This interviewer left this question misunderstood so that ~~psychologically~~ psychologically it may be evaluated as to how this boy brings up the question of truthfulness again, whereas of course a different answer could be expected from some one who understands easily, and who is flexible or experienced enough not to take up his main grievances.)

In regard to the question whether this deterred people, respondent answered: "No, it did not deter anybody, but forced people to be va very cautious in picking up, showing, or talking about the leaflets, to make certain first that no informer was nearby."

Regarding whether there had been any changes in these risks in the last ten years, respondent said he had noticed none.

Concerning g respondent's general views on the leaflets, he said: "I stored them . I often received much encouragement from them, but found out, even before the Revolution, that it was just propaganda." - When respondent was asked how he found this out, he then proceeded: "Because nothing ever materialized from the promises or encouragement in these leaflets."

Asked whether he considered the leaflets useful, respondent replied: "They stirred up people, and then let them down. If I said to a fellow in the bar, ~~каждому из нас~~ 'Beat that rascal' - and pointed to another fellow, probably they would have started fighting. Now, if they fought, and I could not help the one whom I encouraged to start the fight, and walked away, that would be wrong, wouldn't it?!!"

Asked about the effect that the leaflets had in Hungary, respondent said: that the effect was not real ( much) and not lasting.

Regarding the question whether the leaflets played any part in the Revolution, respondent returns to the subject of Radio Free Europe: "It was enough when Radio Free Europe encouraged us to keep struggling for liberty, because in that ~~каждому из нас~~ case we would receive ~~каждому из нас~~ substantial help from the West."

As regards the question whether the Free Europe Committee should continue to drop leaflets in Hungary, ~~каждому из нас~~ respondent answered: "If any leaflets are dropped, they should contain nothing more than matter of fact information."

K Regarding what should be stressed in the leaflets, respondent answered: "Whenever hints (suggestions?) are made it ~~каждому из нас~~ should be made plain as to whether they are real ~~каждому из нас~~ promises or only guesses (hopes, estimates,?) of those who make the news."

Asked whether Radio Free Europe should continue to broadcast to Hungary, respondent answered: ~~XXXXXX~~ "Only for information. No propaganda is needed. It is distasteful and misleading."

As to what programs respondent thinks should be broadcast, respondent said: "New, economic digests, news about cultural developments in various countries, programs about life in Western Europe and the United States, and music native to each country, from many lands, including particularly Hungarian music. The news should be straight news about political and economic events, but not anti-Communist ~~xxx~~ propaganda."

B. F.E.P. Leaflets. Respondent did not ~~z~~ know the initials N.E.M.

Respondent had never heard of the 12 Demands. He ~~was~~ knew only of the demands of the Revolution.

C. Free Europe Leaflets. Asked whether he has ever ~~seen~~ seen these, respondent replied: "Yes, I found them in the pasture, several times."

Asked about the contents of the leaflets, respondent said: "There was information about foreign affairs, and the leaflets ~~was~~ encouraged people, saying that oppression would not last long."

Respondent saw such leaflets every three or four months.

Asked whether he passed these leaflets to others, respondent answered: "It was the first thing to do, if I knew that the ~~xxx~~ other person did not have any."

Asked whether he had heard of these leaflets from others, respondent answered: "Yes, people said it was just some more propaganda." He added that people who told him this were from different origins and locations, and that he himself made the same remark.

(Interviewers note: This interviewer left the above misunderstood questions answered as it was, because he felt that it might be psychologically interesting, as to how and why respondent misunderstood the question.)

Regarding risks involved in picking up Free Europe leaflets, ~~keeping~~ keeping them, or talking about them to any one, respondent said: ~~XXXXXX~~ "Many people were ~~xxx~~ arrested, and they received jail terms of two to three years."

Asked whether such punishments deterred other people, respondent answered: "People were deterred from listening in public places, if there were people present whom they did not know well enough to trust them."

Respondent did not notice any particular changes in these matters in the last ten years.

This is what respondent thought of these broadcasts: "I was interested in international conferences and decisions, mainly. The radio programs differed on this - one was in favor of freedom, and another was against it. I liked some programs, and I didn't like others." (Interviewers note: I thought it wise to leave this point without further questioning, because I think that psychologically it is interesting that this peasant boy did not think much of the conclusions he might draw in regard to the ways these broadcasts were handled, but he concentrated only on the actual contents of them. He evaluates the programs not by the moral actions (or policies?) behind the broadcasts but the moral actions behind the contents of the news.)

Respondent said he preferred the British Broadcasting Co. to the others because: "This one spoke the truth in the clearest way. It did not add anything."

Asked about his idea of the accuracy of these broadcasts, respondent replied: "Radio Free Europe was in many cases not right at all. We believed the Voice of America and ~~xxxxxx~~ London much more."

Regarding the ways he judged the accuracy of the stations, respondent said: "We who listened exchanged opinions and information as to the accuracy of various programs, also some of the people were from towns where they listened to Radio Free Europe and could tell us whether what we listened to was true or not."

Respondent answered this question without much enthusiasm: "I don't think these broadcasts ~~were~~ had any particular effect in Hungary." (in answer to whether they had) Respondent says this with particular emphasis upon the period of the Revolution.

Asked specifically about Radio Free Europe, ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>generally speaking,</sup> respondent said: "I have told you already that Radio Free Europe was either mistaken, or was lying, in quite a few cases. So we did not trust it enough to take things for granted which it said."

When ~~xxxxxx~~ respondent was told that some people had said that Western broadcasts and Radio Free Europe in particular helped to incite the Hungarian people to revolt by holding out promises of Western help, respondent remarked: "This was not the case before the Revolution, but Radio Free Europe promised help during the Revolution."



## XIX. AUDIENCE REACTION TO RADIO AND LEAFLETS

A. Radio. Respondent to foreign radio broadcasts, chiefly the Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, and occasionally the B.B.C.

He found no differences between them in their reception.

Speaking of jamming, respondent said that Radio Free Europe was jammed a great deal, but added: "On a powerful radio set, one can listen to one station on several different wave lengths. If one wave length was jammed, we switched to ~~any~~ another. That was all there was to it."

end 10xa

Respondent listened only to broadcasts in Hungarian.

Asked how often he ~~listened~~ listened, respondent replied: "We listened every two or three days, chiefly to Radio Free Europe; much of our time was busy with work."

Respondent would talk about what he had heard on these broadcasts, depending on what struck his attention the most. He talked on this only to acquaintances.

In regard to the circumstances under which he listened to foreign broadcasts, respondent replied: "A good radio set was received for use by the village. It was set up in the community hall of the village. It was there that we listened to foreign stations."

Asked how many people listened, respondent answered: "There were usually five or six people, but not always the same ones."

In answer to a question, respondent said that those listening to foreign broadcasts took no precautions, because it was the custom in the village, when anyone saw police from out of town entering the village, to run and warn the listeners in the Community Hall.

Asked whether he heard about foreign broadcasts from others who had been listening, respondent said he did when there were events or ~~pgs~~ programs which impressed the ones who told him about them.

In regard to risks involved in listening to these broadcasts, or talking about them, respondent said: "In some places it was dangerous, but it depended very much on what kind of AVO men there were in the village, and whether there were enough to keep close watch on the people. I heard of some cases where people were imprisoned because they talked to others about the foreign broadcasts." "I heard that they received one or two year jail terms."

10 X 6

Respondent has strong convictions about Hungarian political parties, as follows: "The best party at home was the Small Holders' party."

As regards parties in exile, respondent ~~was~~ knew nothing about them.

Respondent had not heard of any parties revived in Hungary during the Revolution.

was

Asked what his attitude toward parties which resumed their organizing activities, that is to say what it would have been had he known about about them, respondent ~~was~~ says that not only the ~~x~~ Small Holders Party, but also other parties, should have a right to organize.

Regarding the question whether the groups which had left Hungary in the years before the Revolution, should have returned to their native land to participate in the revived parties, respondent said: "The ones who would like to return should be permitted, because it is every one's right to return home, to his mother, or to his country."

Respondent would like to return to Hungary only if it is liberated.

Asked whether he wanted to have his children learn Hungarian, as well as English, in the United States, respondent looked somewhat puzzled and said: "I don't want to get married here."

Respondent said he had never given any thought as to what exiles could do for Hungary.

As regards the ~~xx~~ role of exiles during the Revolution, respondent had not thought of what they might have done, ~~and~~  
~~xxxxxxxx~~

C. Redefectors. Respondent said he had never heard of any ~~xxf~~ redefection campaign. He added that he knew of one that was being staged now, and is directed at the refugees of the Revolution.

D. Exile Tasks. In answer to a question, respondent said that people in Hungary would like to know of the exiles and how they are living: "The people would like to know what the West actually looks like, how good the living conditions are, and particularly what real freedom is in practice, and how ~~xxx~~ much of all these things are the exiles enjoying and receiving."

Respondent thinks the  
Regarding what the ~~xxx~~ people in Hungary should know of the exiles here, he said: "They should know that we exiles here do not have to fear anyone, and that we are under relatively good conditions, and that the greatest difficulty is that we don't know English."

This is what respondent thinks the exiles should do now: "They should organize an independent Hungarian army ready to strike when a ~~new~~ Revolution breaks out. Meanwhile, they should send as much help to the people in ~~xxxxx~~ Hungary as possible."

In regard to what he personally ~~could~~ do, respondent ~~says~~ said: "Serve and help the Hungarian cause by exemplary behavior, and by acquiring much knowledge in my own field and in life generally."

Respondent said he would like to join the exiles ~~xxxxxxx~~ organization which is headed by General Kiraly. (Interviewers note: Respondent was informed by the interviewer of the name of this organization.)

Asked what this organization should do, respondent replied that it should persuade the West to ~~xxx~~ help the Hungarian people to regain their freedom.

Regarding the question whether such an exile organization should take in only the newer exiles, or the older ones as well, respondent answered: "Everybody!"

In respondent's opinion, the people in Hungary had the following opinions about those who fled: "They were right in leaving, because everybody has to guar his life."

Assuming that people had had a chance to go to the West, respondent thought that "not more than another hundred thousand" would have come to the Free World, from Hungary.

B. Exile Organizations and Individuals. While he was in Hungary, respondent was not aware of any organizations and individuals in exile.

Respondent heard only, when he arrived here in New York, that there were Hungarians here who wanted to go to Hungary to fight there in the Revolution.

Respondent didn't know of any exile organizations or anything about them.

Speaking of individuals, respondent knows of Nicholas Horthy. In his village, he heard people describe Horthy as a courageous military leader, and one who wanted to help World War I veterans. Horthy created an honor group for veterans of that war who had been particularly heroic. The title was called Vitez. Members of this order also received some land, and they were highly respected because they belonged to the cream ~~of the population~~ of the crop of the population.

Interviewers note: These veterans would be equivalent to holders in the United States of the Congressional Medal of Honor) - Respondent also knows about Horthy that it was in his regime, and according to k information available to respondent, that more and more social & reforms were introduced in Hungary.

Respondent also knew of Otto of Hapsburg that he was pretender to the throne of Hungary (and Austria ? ) and that he speaks Hungarian. He was told that old priests favored Otto's return, but that he would not like to see Hungary again part of a Hapsburg empire.

Asked what the people who fled Hungary before 1956 tried to accomplish, and what they did achieve for Hungary, respondent said: " I didn't expect any more from them than relief shipments, and I understand that such were sent generously."

XVIII. ATTITUDES TOWARD EXILES AND EXILE ACTIVITIES.

A. Characterization of Escapees. Here are the views of respondent on the refugees who escaped from Hungary: "(1) In the first days of the Revolution, some Communists left. Most of them returned and after Nov 4th, I knew one of them in Sopron. That fellow returned to Hungary. - (2) The escapees who fled after Nov. 4 consisted mostly of workers who feared deportation and jail or even death sentences. Also, a great many students fled."

Respondent estimated that most people left from Western Hungary.

As regards age, respondent said that most who fled were young, certainly below 40 in most cases.

Respondent said that as regards the people who stayed in Hungary, the types included: one group of people who were not afraid because they could not or did not participate in the Revolution. - Another group were those who could not manage an escape because they were too far from the border either in distance or in the number of Communist interferences on the roads making such escapes difficult. - Still another group were people who were captured by the Iron Curtain forces guarding the border. - Also a fourth group who had children or old people to take care of. - Summarizing this, respondent explained that no one likes to leave his beloved country behind, and only people with compelling reasons fled.

Asked how he feels about the escapees, respondent answered: end disk 9x3

This is how respondent feels about those who stayed behind: "Hungary cannot and should not be deserted by every one, that is people leaving it. If this happened, it would not be Hungary any more, but would become part of Russia."

Asked for an example of a person that respondent knew who decided to remain in Hungary, even though he had an opportunity to escape, respondent said: "Actually our entire village might have fled, but loved their country too much to flee unless lives were in danger."

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek: "I heard the name. He is some military leader, I guess."

Ferenc Nagy: "I know that he was Hungarian Minister-President, but I do not know much about him."

Roosevelt: "You mean the atomic spies who were executed in the United States? (Interviewer told respondent that the ones he was referring to were named Rosenberg. Respondent still said that he did not know who Roosevelt was.)"

Chancellor Adenauer: Respondent didn't know anything about him, or who he was.

Stalin: "He was a dirty rat who sent millions to death."

Malenkov: "He was not in power long enough to judge him."

Generalissimo Franco: "I never heard of him."

Bevan: "I have never heard this name."

Khrushchev: "He is a dirty Communist." (Interviewers note: This is not just an accident. Again and again this interviewer heard in his various contacts that the simple term 'dirty Communist' is the worst name that could be given, since 'Communist' is bad enough, and when 'dirty' is added to it, there cannot be anything worse, at least from the standpoint of ordinary Hungarians.)

Tito: "He is a turncoat."

Peron: "I have never heard of him."

Molotov: "I don't know him. He is some Russian big shot."

Ollenhauer: "I have never heard of him."

Churchill: "Some very old politician. I heard that he was very important." (Interviewer asked respondent what nationality Churchill was, but the later did not know).

XVII. KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD  
SELECTED PERSONALITIES

This was respondent's ~~best~~ definition of who is the greatest living Hungarian: "I could not name any one, but the greatest Hungarian is the one who was the greatest leader in the Revolution."

B. Imre Nagy: "He differed from Communist lines, and wanted to govern the country, giving it more freedom."

Cardinal Mindszenty: "An innocent person who is held in captivity. He is a good patriot, and an outstanding ~~great~~ religious leader."

Laszlo Rajk: Respondent said he didn't know Rajk well enough to express an opinion.

Erno Gero: "A dirty bum."

Janos Kadar: "A mass murderer who ought to know better since he ~~is~~ himself was tortured long in prison."

General Bela Kiraly: "He was a good Revolutionary leader."

Anna Kethly: "She is a good patriot. She was offered 12,000 francs in Switzerland and offered it to the Hungarian students."

President Eisenhower: "It was nice of him to give refuge to Hungarians, but the rest of the refugees should also be permitted to come to the United States."

Respondent did not know anything about Secretary General Hammarskjold of the United Nations. He likewise is not informed about Secretary of State Dulles, or as regards Eden or of former President Truman."

Mikoyan: "I have never heard of ~~him~~ him."

Nehru: "Is he the Roman emperor who was so cruel?" (Interviewers note: Interviewer pronounced the name several times, and then informed the respondent that the Roman emperor he was referring to was Nero, and respondent observed: "Well, ~~that's~~ I do not know who Nehru is.")

Start  
of 9xB

Confronted with the question of what should have been done in the autumn and winter of 1956, by the United Nations, respondent said: "If the Soviets had refused to ~~ex~~ comply with the resolutions of the U.N., as they did, help to Hungary should have then been expanded through dispatch of a police force by the U.N."

Regarding any possible U.N. aid to Hungary in the foreseeable future, respondent replied: "I hope but I just don't know."



Respondent asked why differences or discriminations should be made regarding what kinds of people should be allowed to visit the satellite countries, representatives of trade unions, tourists, and son on --he said every one should be entitled to go.

Regarding what the visitors should be told about Hungary before they go there, respondent said: "They should not be told to visit the Communist leaders, but rather see the plain people."

Asked who should inform prospective visitors as to Hungary of what they should or might like to see, and talk to, respondent said it didn't make any difference.

Regarding whether Hungarians would like to receive Western books and periodicals, respondent said: "Very much so. No Communist papers would be read at all." Respondent added; "Kadar won't tolerate it."

Asked whether it would make any difference to Hungarian people, whether exiles from Hungary were associated with such activities as above, respondent replied: "Why talk about it? Why make a question of this?"

In regard to the 1948 Marshall Plan, respondent said "I was too young at that time, and although I heard the name, I do not know anything about it."

Asked why America fought in Korea, respondent gave his opinion: "To liberate Korea from Communism, and the Americans fought long and well. There were many Koreans in Hungary, and I heard that they fought in Hungary on the side of the Revolution." Asked whether he knows any other reasons, respondent says he knows of no other.

J. The United Nations. Respondent thought that the U.N. could definitely have influenced the events in Hungary during the last months of 1956: "If during the Revolution the U.N. had dealt effectively with the Hungarian question, without being handicapped by the Egyptian problem, the Soviets would have withdrawn their troops."

9xA cont'd.

H. The United States / - Asked what impressed him most in the first few months here, respondent said: "First, I was astonished to see so many autos; second so many very tall buildings." - (Interviewers note: Respondent smiled apologetically after having made this statement, and emphasized that he had not been long enough in the U.S. to observe other characteristics of American life. He has little occasion to talk to many people. Another comment he made was the size and bulk of the newspapers.) .

Regarding what the United States should do now for the people and nations of W Eastern Europe, respondent replied: "Negotiations should be carried on and the hand of the Soviets should be forced. No attempts should be given up that might force the Soviets to withdraw from Hungary and other slave countries."

Asked for his opinions as to the present policy of the U.S.A. , respondent answered that he lacks information to give any views favorable or unfavorable to U.S. policy.

Regarding whether the U.S.A. should give aid to present governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, and others, respondent said: "Yes, by all means!" But not to Yugoslavia."

Respondent thought that Hungary was in great need of aid, and such help should be given regardless of what the government is, because if only part of the aid reaches the people, it is very important.

Respondent feels his attitude on the above questions has not changed since he ~~came~~ came to the U.S.A.,  
 mm

Asked what ~~shax~~ should be the American government's relations with the present government of Hungary respondent replied: "This is a very difficult question. I think that trade relations should be maintained, and also diplomatic relations should not be broken."

Concerning the question of whether people in Hungary would like to see more Western visitors, respondent replied: "No doubt, they would be very happy to have visitors from the free countries."

Respondent said that the people whom he heard expressing their opinions said the German army was much better disciplined as to both officers and enlisted men than the Russian army.

Respondent emphasized again that both occupation armies were hated by the population because they were tools of oppression from abroad, but the Russians were hated more.

G. Western Europe. ~~Russian~~ Respondent had no information on NATO. He had never heard of its existence.

Respondent had never heard of the British Labor Party.

According to the impression of the respondent, the standard of living in the following countries ranks for each country, in the following order, West Germany first, Great Britain, Italy, Egypt, Greece, and Soviet Russia.

H.

Respondent

Asked for his views on the Israeli invasion, respondent said that he did not have enough information on this to express an opinion.

Respondent said that the question whether Egypt was right in nationalizing the Suez Canal is over his head.

As stated previously, respondent did feel that the events in Egypt had a great effect on developments in Hungary during the autumn of 1956. As he had said, this amounted to a tragedy for Hungary because that event prevented the Western free countries from taking the necessary steps in the Hungarian crisis. For ~~there~~ ranks were divided morally as well as strategically speaking.

F. West Germany. It is respondent's impression that the living standards in West Germany are very high. The Germans have a good life, and are second in prosperity only to the United States.

Told that some people have said that the Germans are dangerous and may start another war, respondent answered: "They would not start a war. They would like to unite their (dismembered) country, and that is a just aspiration."

Asked about West German rearmament, respondent said: "This is all right, because half of their country is in bondage, and the Russians will never pull out if they are not faced with strength."

Respondent did not know whether the German army was stronger or weaker than that of Britain or of France.

Respondent said he would not dare to estimate the term of service in the Western Germany army, but he can state, for comparison's sake, that the term in Austria is nine months.

Asked to compare the Russian and the German armies when they occupied Hungary, respondent replied that the Russians were much more disagreeable, although the German army was not liked either. In fact, it was hated.

Asked whether he thinks that Tito and Yugoslavia have been influential in Eastern Europe, he says that he doesn't know.

Respondent cannot make up his mind whether he should or could view Tito as the originator of National Communism.

His general attitude and his general view of Tito are expressed in the following words: "Tito utters no word that could be trusted in any way. He is a dirty turncoat. Here are his views of Tito's relations with other East European nations: "He no good relations with either Hungary or Rumania."

Asked about his relations with Russia, respondent says: "They are not good friends, but the political picture is the same in bothe countries."

About Tito's relations with the West: "Tito would probably like to take advantage fo the Western countries."

This is respondent's view of Tito's position vis a vis Hungary and the Hungarian revolution: "His behavior was anything but exemplary. He protested, but he dragged his feet when it came to doing anything for Hungarian freedom."

This is respondent's attitude toward Titoism and Titoists in the satelite nations: "Tito would like to have communism of his own, but the Hungarian people don't wish the same deal at all."

Asked whether Tito is popular in Yugoslavia, respondent offers this opinion: "Tito is disliked by the people. His policies are utterly disliked."

Respondent claims to have nox knowledge of internal conditions in Yugoslavia.

E. The Middle East. When respondent is asked to say something about the invasion of the Suez Canal, to offer ~~his~~ opinion, this is what he comes up with: "This was the tragedy of Hungary. They (the United Nations did not manage to take the right steps in favor of Hungary. Had the English and the French not attacked Egypt, the situation of the Hungarian revolution would have been much, much better, for then the entire world would have turned against the Soviets."

because of their courageous resistance to communist domination. And he thinks that Yugoslavia is the least popular because of the government's dirty policies. Because of its, politicking in foreign affairs, playing both ends against the other. Respondent says that he shares the general feelings of the people on these points.

But he had no personal contact with these nations.

Asked what would happen if free elections were held in these countries, respondent answered that communism would be over in a jiffy. Asked whether there would be a difference in speed of abolishing communism he said that perhaps Yugoslavia would be slower to do so, but in the end the will of the people would become decisive.

Respondent thinks that the living standard in the East European countries is the highest in East Germany and he thinks that Czechoslovakia is the second, but then he refuses to line the other countries up.

C. Poland. Respondent feels that he is so little informed on the Polish situation that he cannot offer any opinion on it.

Respondent again and again refuses to make comments on Gomulka and his government.

The only utterance he is willing to make in this connection is the following: "When the Hungarian people stood up in a revolution, the Poles were afraid to stir. It is tragic that they were afraid because had they stood up, the other nations would have followed and the entire outcome would have been quite different. The entire Soviet system would have collapsed."

Respondent thinks that the events in Poland had ~~no~~ no major effect on the events in Hungary except that the revolution started with a sympathy demonstration for the cause of the Polish.

Respondent thinks that there were no changes in freedom of expression in Poland before Gomulka's rise to power.

Respondent knew nothing of significant developments in Poland before the Poznan riots.

Asked whether he would have preferred the Hungarian revolution to take a path along Polish lines, respondent answered: "The revolution was unavoidable and as a result the Soviet Union lost its reputation all over the world."

(Interviewer's note: This answer as some others are very typical indirect Hungarian answers. They are incomparably more typical of Hungarians peasants and workers than of Hungarian middle class people. In their way of thinking this was a very clear declaration that he would ~~by~~ by no means have preferred that the Hungarian revolution take a path along Polish lines. )

## XVI. EVENTS OUTSIDE HUNGARY

A. Russia: Asked about chances of changes inside Russia, respondent says: changes can be brought about only by the revolution, but it will be awfully difficult people think because the Secret Police system is stronger than that in Hungary."

• Asked about the feelings of the people in Russia, respondent says: "Most Russians are fed up with communism and they also feel their misery. They also have imaginations and can think that there is a better life, and they certainly heard that from soldiers who were in Hungary and other countries which are more civilized than Russia."

Asked whether changes are more likely to occur through gradual liberalization or revolution respondent says: "Revolution! Russia after all is the ~~xxxx~~ real home of communism and the secret police is stronger than any where. Thus the regime cannot be overthrown by other means than violence."

Asked what the result of free elections in Russia would be, respondent said: "No doubt the communist regime would be doomed."

Asked what kind of government would result, respondent says: "I don't know, perhaps democracy. The Russian are too weak to form a good government. They are too primitive. I've heard from former Hungarian prisoners of war who had been in Soviet Russia that the Russians are a very very backward people."

Asked what the top leaders of Russia are like, respondent says: "They are the former jailbirds. The lowest scoundrels you can imagine. They shouldn't live among human beings because they don't behave like humans."

• Asked what their over-all aims are, respondent says (thinking apparently of the dangers he faced as a farm boy): "Their aim is to collectivize all countries in which they have established their rule. The five pointed star symbolizes the conquest of the five continents of the world, and they proclaim it."

Asked about the motives of personalities of the Russian leaders, the respondent says: "They would like to be as God is: omnipotent, and omniscient."

This is respondent's opinion of the differences between the Russian leaders and the Hungarian communist leadership: "There is little difference. Both of them are inhuman savages just the same."

B. Eastern Europe: Comparing Red dominated countries of Eastern Europe, Respondent says that Poland is the most popular in Hungary and East Germany perhaps the second most popular

Respondent's attitude to this material is that it provided much better information about foreign affairs than the Communist papers which lied. Asked how available it was, he said that it was not available at all, it just happened that some Hungarian railroad men either crossed over to Austria or had contact with Austrian people and received copies of this paper.

Respondent doesn't know of any illegal publications, and he didn't know of any books or publications which were illegal while he was in Hungary.



## XV. THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

A. World events: Respondent had no knowledge of the Secret Speech of Khrushchev at the Twentieth Party Congress.

He has never heard of Senator McCarthy.

He has never heard of the fall of Peron.

Asked about the private life of Rakosi he says: "I heard that he had been for some eight years in jail, and that there he incited his buddies to stage a hunger strike. During the strike he ate secretly and his buddies persevered, thinking that if Rakosi can do it, so can they. They died and Rakosi survived." - Asked for his opinion on this respondent says that Rakosi is a dirty rat."

B. Sources of personal information. Asked from what sources he drew most of his information about what was happening, respondent says from radios and from papers. Asked which one of these sources was most important to him, he says the stations Radio Free Europe and Voice of America.

C. Word of mouth. Asked what sort of news he got by word of mouth, he answered: "I heard about the dirty deals and the low blows of the regime."

Asked from what sort of people he got this news, he says they were peasants of all kinds of ages.

D. Reading habits. Asked about his reading habits, in the area of newspapers, respondent says: "I had to subscribe to the Szabad Nep. It was compulsory to subscribe to it, but I read only sports, and sometimes foreign affairs news. There was very little written on foreign affairs by the way.

Asked what he particularly distrusted, respondent says: "I wasn't interested in work competitions and I hated to hear the nonsensical news of the Western imperialism. Those sounded just like an owl saying to a sparrow: 'You have big eyes.'" (Interviewer's note: This is a Hungarian saying, very frequently quoted meaning of course that the guilty person points to the innocent person and says, you're guilty.)

Respondent didn't read any publications from the USSR or the other satellites, nor did his family nor his friends.

Asked about publications from the West, respondent says that for about six months he received every other week a copy of the Becsi Hirlap, (a free Hungarian newspaper

edited in Vienna by Hungarian exiles). He explains that he received the copies of this Becsi Hirlap from railroad men.

*int. note*

Russia, in Rumania, in Yugoslavia, and in Austria could all get together, because there would be no boundary lines between them.)

Respondent thinks that it is probable that such a federation of states could be created.

He would like to see Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia included. - Asked whether the people of Hungary would approve of such a solution, respondent answered: "I don't think that Hungarians would consent to it. People distrust any alliance. They have had so many bitter experiences with alliances."

Asked whether he finds Hungary's present boundaries acceptable, respondent answered: "No!"

Asked about territorial adjustment, respondent says: "The areas whose population would vote to belong to Hungary should become part of Hungary again."

Respondent says that he is very much concerned over the problem of Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary. He says that the United Nations should see to it that those people not be oppressed by either communism or their fellow nationalities.

Respondent declares that this whole question is very very important to him.



XIV. SOCIAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

A. Independent Hungary: Asked what he would want an independent Hungary to be like, respondent says: "An independent democratic country."

B. Details on economy: Asked whether Hungary should emphasize agriculture or industry, respondent answered: "Agriculture is more backward in Hungary now. The communists developed heavy industry more and ruined agriculture by collectivization. Agriculture will have to be helped an awful lot."

Asked whether Hungary should emphasize heavy or light industry, respondent says that it should be light industry, that is emphasized, because there is a very great need for commodities. Asked which product in particular should be emphasized, he says farm implements industry should be particularly well developed.

Asked if the communist regime were overthrown what he thinks should be done with the national enterprises, respondent answered: "I never thought of this problem. I am inclined to think that if someone, like we had a case in a neighboring village; well if someone started out with a small shop and made by skill, perseverance and know-how a large plant from it, it should belong to him not to any communisty."

Asked about the kolkhozes and state farms, respondent says: "They should be dissolved instantly and should be returned to their former owners. This refers to collectives. State farms are much better than collectives because the people had decent wages. They were independent wage owners. State farms paid the workers who went ~~there~~ relatively decently. It was like a factory, and above all, no one was forced to work; he who worked was paid, and that was it." (Interviewer's note: This interviewer wishes to call very special attention to this explanation of a young farm boy. This interviewer heard similar views from others of the same background. Many people with similar background seem to emphasize again and again in very different ways, that dependence and coercion was the worst in working on large estates.)

Asked about the government's role in the economic system of an independent Hungary, respondent says, but only after he asked about his attitude to government ownership of industry transportation etc. Industries and transportation should belong to individual owners. Government ownership is opposed by people and so is ownership of large estates. Such estate holders were bossing over poor people and humiliated them in many ways."

(Interviewer's note: cf. Interviewer's remark).

Asked what role government should play in agriculture,

Asked whether he desired a war between the USSR and the US, respondent answered: "Not at all. I don't think there is one Hungarian who would desire a world catastrophe by provoking a third world war."

Respondent is reluctant to guess at all if such a war is likely to occur.

Asked about <sup>t</sup>mans other than war respondent names United Nations pressure above all and goes on saying an international police force did the trick in Egypt. The same way should be picked~~x~~ for solution in the case of Hungary.

Asked about internal changes in the Soviet Union leading to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ a settlement in Eastern Europe, respondent says: "I don't think that such could come very soon, but it is not impossible at all in the long run. For communist it is easy to effect changes. Take how<sup>urpe"ve"dye</sup> the power of Rakosi seemed to be, and still it was so easy to get rid of him when those in power saw it fit."

B. Hopes in retrospect. About his expectations for the future in the last<sup>ten</sup> years and his hopes, respondent does not separate the two although he is first asked only one, he includes the answers to the second: "I hoped all the time that agreement between the United States~~xxx~~ and the Soviets can be achieved and that the Soviets withdraw their troops from Hungary." (Interviewer's note: Probed whether he really refers to the years prior to the revolution, respondent very pointedly said: "Yes he does refer to the years prior to the revolution.")

Respondent has something to add to this statement and he makes the addition ~~xxxx~~ by himself: "At the same time I was afraid that war would break out between the two, and others, most people thought the same."

Asked about changes in his estimates and hopes in the last ten years, respondent answered; my hopes were dwindling in the last two years because I saw that such agreements did not come into life despite endless negotiations."

XIII. ASSESSMENT OF FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR HUNGARY

A. Next few years: Here are respondent's guesses about the next few years, and here are his hopes: "The Russians will leave within the next few years as I hear from others. I think the same. The Russians are blamed by the entire world and I conclude from what I hear over the radio that the Russians will have to take a conciliatory attitude and they will have to realize that they are unwanted. They will have to withdraw from Hungary."

Probed for his opinion of what the expectations of people still in Hungary are respondent says: "Most of them think what I do, but you just can't put a deadline on their expectations."

Asked what respondent expects the Russians to do he answers: "The Russians won't withdraw by themselves. They will have to be compelled by the United Nations. Nobody leaves paradise by himself. If so much international pressure is put on the Russians that they realize their position, that they see that the entire world is turned against them its only then that they will withdraw."

As for the West, respondent hopes that it will continue negotiations with the Russians pressing hard for their withdrawal from Hungary.

Asked what compromise he would accept, respondent answered: "The only real solution is never to see any part of Soviet occupation in Hungary. Soviet occupation is so deeply hated by all Hungarians that they will have to leave."

Asked about a Poland type solution, respondent says that he finds it a still better solution than the endless terror which is reigning now in Hungary, but he emphasized again that the only real resolution would be if Hungary were completely freed from Soviet occupation. When he is asked what the Hungarian people think of this he answered: "I am sure they all would wish to see all Russians go."

Asked about the means ~~xxxxxx~~ by which his hopes could be realized, respondent offers this suggestion: "If the free world would find means to coerce the Russians to leave, if possible by making agreement with them, if not by military means." (~~Interviewer's note. Since probe failed to elicit this interviewer did not probe further. Respondent's reply was that military means are the only way to force them to leave, but a few lines down he says that he does not want war.~~)

E. Government officials. Asked whether officials in the local government could be found who would be willing to forget the rules and help people in trouble, respondent answers: "Well, this was the case with our Party secretary who as I told before resisted all collectivization efforts, and helped people in trouble in every other way- non-party members were generally speaking quite anxious to help people in trouble, the ones I knew and I heard of. There is one concrete case, a Mav officer (Interviewer's note: Mav is the name of the Hungarian State Railroad System), was kicked out and lost his job because he tried to help people too courageously- I saw an attorney at law fighting very courageously for a defendant."

F. Corruption. Respondent had no experiences, nor did he hear about any cases of corruption, and he doesn't think that there is much of it to be found.

G. Competence of leaders. Asked to estimate the competence and efficiency of various groups which hold power in Communist Hungary comes up with these answers: Secret Police: "They were actually not competent. It needs no training and it is not the sign of competence to beat people. Their investigations were based on beating and torturing people and others were helped by well-trained German Shepherds (Interviewer's note: of course respondent refers to dogs and in Hungarian they are not called German Shepherds, but literally translated, wolf dogs). The Secret Police had to find one or more culprits if there was an accusation, so they tortured people as long as they were not able to pin the label of guilty on somebody."

Army leadership: "Hungary had no good military leadership under communism the leaders were not competent because the communists did away with the old and well trained army officers."

Respondent declined to give any estimation of Russian army leadership.

Respondent is inclined to estimate that about 50 per cent only of bureaucracy were competent.

In regard to whether the Hungarian people expected much from Russian soldiers who sided with them, responded said: "No, they didn't expect much from them, particularly ~~and~~ since they had found ~~that~~ that the Russian soldiers were very poor ones in combat. They dared to attack only if they were drunk, and they were afraid of the civilian population everywhere."

Questioned where respondent heard all of this, he said from people and from radio broadcasts. As to how reliable these sources were, he said he heard it from colleagues (interviewers note: apparently from railroaders) -who came from those places where such events took place.

In regard to whether the respondent had heard of cases of brutality by Soviet soldiers, inflicted on Hungarians during the Revolution, he answered: "I heard of cases where Russian soldiers shot at unarmed demonstrators. This occurred in Budapest." - Questioned as to his source for this, respondent replied as before that he had heard this from railroaders and from radio broadcasts."

End if inserted part



Asked about the general views of Russian soldiers who were in Hungary during the past few years, respondent said: "They called Hungary a paradise, and did not want to leave it. I was also told by many people." - At interviewer's question whether there were people whom they talked to extensively, respondent said "Yes. People who had been prisoners of war in Russia and spoke Russian, talked quite a bit to the Russian troops in Hungary."

Regarding the behavior of Russian troops during the Revolution, respondent gave this information: "The ones who were here in Hungary knew that the Hungarian people were oppressed, but they had it well in Hungary, and did not want to return to Russia. When the Revolution broke out, and these troops had to fire on the people of 'paradise', many of the Russian ~~xxxxxx~~ troops, and perhaps a majority of ~~them~~ them, sided with the Revolution, particularly when they saw that otherwise they would have to go back to Russia. The Russian leaders found this out, and recalled these old troops, and sent in new ones. I said that Russian soldiers sided with the Hungarians, because they also felt that they did not have freedom in Russia, and also because they didn't want to return there."

Asked for concrete examples of Russian troops siding with the Hungarians and the Revolution, respondent gave this ~~an~~ example: "Consider a case in Veszprem Kulso. There were three armored cars sent against the Hungarian demonstrators in the hills. When the cars approached, they hoisted a white flag, hence the Hungarians did not shoot at them. The Russian soldiers climbed out of the cars, and surrendered, ~~go~~ The Hungarians disarmed them, and sent them to ~~where~~ where ever they wanted to. The students among the Hungarians then took over the armored cars and fought with them from then on."

Regarding what he knows these Russian soldiers did, respondent said: "They certainly did not want to go back to the Russians, and probably they fled to the Free World."

Asked about other concrete cases, respondent replied that he heard of several taking place in Budapest, but that he ~~was~~ was not ~~xxxx~~ present and does not exactly recall what he was told. -Regarding when he heard those stories and where, respondent emphatically asserted that he heard them during the Revolution right in Hungary.

Regarding whether enlisted men spoke among themselves openly, respondent said: "Yes, very openly. They hated all that baloney they were given in the indoctrination classes, and of course also resented the behavior of the officers and the N.C.O.'s."

Respondent had already told us several things about opposition behavior -resistance -and if analyzers ~~are~~ are looking for such, they should refer to the beginning of this chapter and in the rest of the remarks on the army.

D. Russian Troops. When respondent was told that some people say that Hungarians' feelings about the Russian army are due to the events of 1848, he replied: "Not at all. That is not the reason. The reason is what ~~he~~ is going on right now, and ~~what~~ whoever has had a chance to experience the system of Communism, he really has grown to hate it. Because of Communism, he has become disgusted with the Russians." - At interviewer's probe, why people came to be disgusted with the Russians, and not with Communism and such, respondent answered: "You are right in asking why the Russians, but the situation is that the real home of Communism is Russia, and there are a great many people who are opposed to the regime but they cannot do anything because they are confronted with well armed forces." - Asked how he knows ~~the~~ this, respondent explained: "There were a great many people under Soviet captivity who returned home, and they told us what happened in the Soviet Union, in the ~~kikk~~ kolkhozes, and told us how oppressed the Russian peasantry is." - Asked whether those people spoke Russian, respondent explained: "Yes, most of them had ~~had~~ learned some Russian."

Concerning any experience the respondent may have had with the Russian occupation army in 1945, he ~~said~~ said that he was too young at that time, and he would not remember. He adds that he heard that their culture was low, and that in many things the Hungarians were astonished how Russians could act--for ~~ix~~ instance, when a Russian soldier wants to clean cherries in the rest room, he ~~flushes~~ flushes them down in the toilet bowl, then rushes down stairs to the first floor, and brandishing his rifle demands his cherries! The same story is told about a fish. A Russian soldier tried to wash a fish in the toilet ~~g~~, it was washed down (when the toilet was flushed) and they were surprised and called it a stealing machine! Another act of the Russians was to shoot many without any ~~reason~~ reason, and also that they were behaving in a terrible way toward women. In a great many communities, they raped the women. &

Asked about the forms of political indoctrination respondent's brother was exposed to in the army, he said: "This was an every day matter in the army, not only during basic training, but during the entire military service. Every week there were political classes, three to the week. Now it is not so easy to make dupes out of 22 year old men, and it happened many times that some of these youths, who were clever at expressing themselves, who were eloquent and daring at the same time, were excused from indoctrination classes. They were pleased, and didn't feel sorry for having been kicked out." -

Asked why these youths were excused from the classes respondent explained: "For ~~instance~~ there was a history class, and when teaching this, ~~much~~ much politics was included in it. In such classes, it happened on many an occasion, that the training officer said that ~~at~~ such and such event took place at such and such time, and then a youth who get up from the ranks of the soldiers - a "bald" soldier (Interviewers note: One ~~maxk~~ of the things that

instance

the soldiers resented was that in line with an old Russian custom, the recruits were given a close hair cut which made them almost bald--not a crew cut as in the American army - this was not so in the army during the two world wars) - the much despised young soldier told the training officer that he was mistaken because that event took place at another time and place than the officer had said. Of course, such a youth was more polished and educated, not just a fellow like the training officer who spoke with little knowledge just ~~g~~ because it happened to be his assignment." - Asked what happened in such a case, respondent answered; 2 "The officer in charge sent the youth out of the room, telling him not to disturb the training program. He didn't feel like getting into an argument because he was aware of the fact that that youth knew much more than he did."

Whether some people ~~whwxwxwxixix~~ indoctrinated by the Communist ideology, which was so extensively taught, respondent said: "There were extremely few who could be influenced by Communist politics." (Interviewers Note: ~~xxxxixix~~ In using the word 'politics' respondent of course meant ideology, but this interviewer thought that it might be noteworthy that he doesn't make any distinction between ideology and politics, and he is not the only one among respondents).

Asked how well the officers were trained, respondent said: "The training of the officers did not take much time. They attended a school whose courses lasted from 12 to 14 months. When they left that school, they became deputy lieutenants. (Interviewers note: This is the lowest rank for an officer in the Hungarian "Peoples' Army")."

Regarding whether some officers were better than others in the sense of having a more humane attitude towards the men, respondent said: "Yes, there were, but only a few. These were chiefly officers of the previous regime."

Asked the same question about N.C.O.'s, respondent answered: "Unfortunately, only those men were selected for N.C.O.'s who knew how to mistreat people, and how to tire out the men."

Regarding whether there was a difference between persuaded Communist officers and those who were not, respondent answered: "The difference was marked. For instance, if some one walked into the office where an officer was sitting who had been an officer under the previous regime, that officer did not kick the recruit out of the office, telling him that he should learn how to enter an office; and he knew how to speak to that recruit like a man. He spoke to him in a tone worthy of a human being (Interviewers note: This last phrase is a verbatim quotation from the respondent's remarks as all these remarks are edited only a little, but otherwise verbatim)-the officers of the Communist regime thought that the soldiers were their humble servants."

to him in a tone worthy of a human being

As to whether some people got better treatment in the army than others did, respondent answered: "There were no exceptions made, except that members of the DISZ, Communist youth organization, or those whose fathers were members of a collective farm, were given leaves ~~more often than the others~~. If the son of an individual farmer (not in a collective) applied for a leave to go home and help in the harvest, he was told that his father should join a collective farm. (Interviewers note: -The custom in the Hungarian army, as long as this interviewer can remember, has been to grant harvest leaves to soldiers of the peasant class, because every hand was needed). The son of the individual farmer was further told that since it was obvious that he could not handle the harvest alone, he should join a collective farm."

for harvest

Asked whether soldiers in such cases ~~always~~ obeyed ~~and~~ and whether they filed any complaints afterwards, respondent explained: "No one of them wanted to be sent to the stockades." (Interviewers Note: This typically Hungarian peasant way of indirect talk of course means that respondent means to say a decided No to this question).

Regarding the social classes from which officers and N.C.O.'s ~~came~~ came, respondent replied: "N.C.O.'s were from both peasant and worker stock. The only real requirement for an N.C.O. was that he should be a bully type of person --very rude, in his treatment of the enlisted men. That was the important thing --Most of the officers came from villages. Quite a few were of worker origin, some from the ~~intelligentsia~~ intelligentsia --."

Asked whether most officers were Communists or not, respondent said: "No non-party member could become an officer." Regarding the question whether the officers were persuaded Communists, respondent replied: "Even if they had not been persuaded, they were anxious not to reveal it in front of the ~~enlisted~~ enlisted men, but I think that a large number of them were." end CA

Asked if he was a soldier, respondent answered that he had been in the army for three years. He served from the fall of 1952 to the fall of 1955. disk

Regarding the relations between N.C.O.'s and enlistmen, respondent said: "The N.C.O.'s had to adjust themselves and had to carry out orders." -Asked whether they were ~~all~~ right in their treatment of the enlisted men, respondent said: "If some one was singled out to attend the N.C.O. School, he was taught there how to harass the soldiers. Those who could not do this, were not permitted to graduate from the school."

Asked whether the officers and the N.C.O.'s spoke together openly in the presence of the enlisted men respondent answered: "No, they did not. If an officer did not like ~~what~~ what an N.C.O. said, or how he or his soldiers behaved, he summoned the N.C.O. to the office, and it was there ~~where~~ where he was reprimanded." (Interviewers Note: ~~that~~ that This interviewer leaves again a question misunderstood and answered that way, because he thinks psychologically it may be interesting to see how respondent understood the question.)

said, interviewer asked respondent whether he was no mistaken, and respondent reaffirmed his statement).

Asked whether respondent was surprised at ~~the~~ the behavior of the military, he said: "No, I was not surprised at all. When I heard, even before this, how the Hungarian army was organized, I realized that young men of 20 to 22 years of age are not easy to persuade against their own judgment. Most of those young people, I should say all of them, were the product of what they had experienced in life, and I knew, and many others of us knew it, in advance, that these young men would never turn against the Hungarian people. In fact, we could see that they had been anxiously waiting for the moment when they could turn their arms against the oppressors of the Hungarian people."

Now asked about the every day life in the army, respondent replied: "While the soldiers were in basic training, they were not left time even to smoke a cigarette. They were kept terribly busy, not only with actual training, but also with cleaning their barracks. Later, they suffered much during training. It happened, for ~~instance~~ instance, that in the winter they were out in the cold for four or five days, and some had to sleep under a bridge in the snow. They had to train in knee deep snow, and although they got very wet and cold, nevertheless they had to sleep on the ground, and their pants were completely icy. Only when they were able to go into some building, did the ice melt."

"It happened, for instance, ~~on~~ during a training period, on January 12th, that one of the M.C.O.'s was not satisfied with the behavior of the ~~enlisted~~ enlisted men, and he led them to a bridge area, about thirty yards from the bridge. The M.C.O. went ahead and crossed the river, ordering the soldiers to follow him--one ~~can~~ can imagine what it is do wade through a river in the middle of January in below freezing temperatures! When the soldiers arrived on the other side of the river, they were all wet, all this with the barracks 7 kilometers (five miles) away - ~~and~~ they had to run all the way to the barracks; and when they got to their quarters, they were ordered to report in dry and clean clothes within ten minutes, and also their rifles were to be perfectly clean." - Respondent in answer to a question is sure of these facts, since his own brother was on this march, and told him about it.

C. Asked to give some idea of the part played by the army during the Revolution, respondent has this to say: "Of what I heard, I can report that all the people I talked to told me there was no sign of Hungarian soldiers turning against the Revolution. On the contrary, it may be said that they sided with the Revolution. To a great extent, it was the soldiers who armed the civilians/~~xxxxxxx~~ fighters." Freedom

Asked where respondent heard this, respondent said from people he talked to, both from his village, and from the many railroaders he met while on duty. Questioned as to how far from his place was the next town where Hungarian military units were stationed, respondent said it was 26 kilometers. Asked whether he spoke to soldiers from units stationed in that town, respondent said he did.

In regard to what these soldiers said, respondent gives us the following information: Their officers were anxious to keep the soldiers in the barracks and under their control. However, the soldiers just left the barracks. The soldiers took along all the trucks and cars of their units, because there were no trains in operation at that time, and the soldiers were heading for their various homes."

Regarding whether respondent heard of cases in which ~~Mungarians~~ Hungarians soldiers fought alongside of civilian Freedom Fighters he said: "Yes, I heard of such cases, and the place was Veszprem Kulso. In the hills of Veszprem, there was a large number of civilians, -workers, railroaders, students, and peasants--and also an even larger number of soldiers. These men fought courageously for several days, and held out until they were so cornered by the Russians that they had to give up." - ~~xxx~~ Asked whether the men surrendered, respondent answered: "No, they did not, but when they saw that they were ~~xxxxxx~~ surrounded by Russian troops, they managed to break through on one side, and most of them escaped."

X In regard to differences in the behavior of officers, enlisted men, and C.O.'s, respondent replied: - "There were very few officers who joined the Revolutionaries." (Interviewers Note: This interviewer is afraid that if he doesn't say that the continuation of this paragraph came from respondent without any prompting or spurring, it might be thought that he answered such a spurring. Let it be known that he spoke up by himself;) - "But most of the officers of peasant and workers' origin sided with the Revolution." (Interviewers note: after this was

of the AVH in an independent Hungary respondent says: "After investigation in court, an open trial, severe sentences should be given to them, including death penalties."

This is how respondent compares regular police to the AVH: "In our vicinity, the majority of regular police were decent fellows, but I heard that in other parts of the country, the majority of the policemen were not very well-meaning, but communism certainly cannot trust them much. Regular police carries no real weight in the country, it is not respected nor is it feared."

Asked whether communism has effected the regular police system, respondent answered: "Regular police is another organ of the regime after all, and they all have to be party members."

Asked about the competency of regular police, respondent thinks: "They are ignorant people, most of them. They usually had nothing more, just a few months of training. They are not like the constabulary force of the former regime, who had to study an awful lot."

On the role of the regular police during the revolution, respondent says: "They had no other role, but most of them sided with the population, others simply went home or disappeared in one way or another. In the neighboring city where I was during the revolution, the commander of the police told us when we went demonstrating to them, that they were with us and they would not do anything against the revolution but hope that it would be a success."

B. The courts. Asked how the courts worked before 1945, respondent answered: "I heard from all people who spoke of it that those courts acted only through investigation. Verdicts were given only after a fair trial and the sentences the judges passed were commensurate with the kind and degree of the crime committed."

Asked whether before 1945 a poor peasant or worker would get fair treatment from the courts in a case against a rich man, respondent says that of course he would, because courts made no difference between rich and poor.

Respondent doesn't know anything about People's Courts of 1945 and 1947. The points which are marked under "C" and "D" will be recorded on a separate record. I will give the name 6C to that separate record, and I will send it to you afterwards) that will be a full size record.



## XII. THE APPARATUS OF POWER

A. Secret Police. Respondent has a low opinion of the secret police: "Most AVO people were the most ignorant part of the population. Many of them had no education whatsoever. They were people who were able to torture innocent fellow human beings." (Interviewers note: This interviewer finds it extremely important to explain that one might say that practically speaking all "common" people in Hungary, all little people with extremely few exceptions think that education improves not only the intellectual standard, but also the moral standard of a person. In this respect they seem to be ~~at~~ on the level of Socrates who thought that a smart man could not be a bad man, that a well reasoning educated man could not do evil. This interviewer dealt with this question extensively during his college studies in Hungary and held a lecture in the philosophical seminary of the University in which he studied. His lecture was highly praised and generally well received. Interviewer refers to this to give added emphasis to what he was saying and would like to call attention to similar points in other interviews.)

Asked about personal experience with AVH men respondent says: "Kulaks from neighboring villages were beaten by the AVO because of non delivery of crops and produce, and they were sentenced by court to forced labor without even interrogation, let alone serious investigation.

"We carried "black crops" to a farmer's house from the threshing machine and we were reported by a police sergeant. An engineer was taken to the AVO and people demanded in vain that he be returned. He just never came back."

In Mosonmagyar over three AVO people massacred 80 unarmed civilians. Among them a former army lieutenant who was living in a neighboring ~~new~~ village. People felt so bad about it that he received a particularly solemn funeral and burial. He was buried in an army officers uniform with his decorations, and a large crowd of people attended, and most people wept. (Interviewer's remark: By former army lieutenant, respondent means one who had been an officer prior to the communist regime, that is to say under the Horthy regime.)

When asked, respondent answered that he heard of such AVH men who wanted to leave the AVH, who suffered remorse. He explains that the person he heard of hated to see innocent people tortured.

Asked what should be done with those who had been members

People were locked up, beaten up, terrorized, but others were still not held back from doing the same."

People explained, answering question, that he didn't see much difference in opposition behavior occurring more at one time than another.

Asked about the activities of the intellectuals, respondent says: "I heard ~~that~~ in 1954 that some writers were kicked out of their positions. One was jailed and the works of several others were not published- in the first few days of October, I heard that clandestine papers wrote clearly that communism would go down the drain."

Asked about the Petofi Circle, respondent says: "I heard of it only during the revolution. People said that the members were mainly workers and that they had a good share in the revolution. I heard that they had spoken very boldly in their meetings before the revolution and that one could conclude that something would happen." (Interviewer's note: Knowing the way of thinking of "common Hungarian people" this interviewer wishes to emphasize that this statement means that respondent felt that things must be pretty ripe and they cannot stop if people venture so much as to speak out so openly as he understood people spoke at the Petofi Circle meetings.)

Respondent had no knowledge of intellectual ferment before the Petofi meetings.

(Interviewer's note: Since it is apparent that respondent is not well informed about the activities of the intellectuals it seems out of the question to ask him about what they had to say.)

Asked why those intellectuals he knew about to whom he referred in the above paragraph, why they stood up against the regime, the respondent answered: "Feelings in them were aroused by the picture which spread before their eyes throughout the country."

so much that they could not know the West, and still they rather close their eyes, and don't want to know good from evil."

Asked what he thinks an independent Hungary should do with the top Hungarian communists, respondent says: "The top leaders should be tried by court. When they are interrogated their own methods should be applied a little bit so that they can learn what it feels like to be subjected to them. Execution should be among the punishments meted out to the guilty ones."

C. Opposition. Asked about various kinds of opposition behavior, respondent comes up with this report: "I know very well that the Party Secretary of the neighboring village was beaten up and knifed and was hospitalized for two months even the Party had to discharge him from his position as Party Secretary. The AVO had a hard time because every single person in the village spoke against that Party Secretary. The people who did the beating and the knifing received two three year jail terms, but they were terribly tortured by the AVO."

"Before the Rajk trial, THAT is the only way that I can tell you about time- there were some 40 persons involved in a conspiracy in Csepreg, a border village."

"I heard people speak openly to Party members, criticizing, "your party and your system" and party members found it very hard to say anything refuting the arguments of those who criticized the Party actions."

"Complaining against the regime was the talk of the town ~~was~~"

Asked by whom these complaints were uttered, the respondent answered: "There was no difference in people complaining. Everybody complained."

Asked how aware he and others were of such opposition behavior, respondent answered: "We were perfectly aware, of course we knew of such things. People told each other about any kind of resistance that people displayed for sheer happiness that justice was done, at least that way. Just imagine the pleasure when we heard about that no good Party secretary beaten up."

Asked whether people thought that these acts of opposition were in any sense effective, respondent answered: "Effective?"

to protect those plants from "Western imperialism." In 1953 a relaxation in delivery rules came and a relaxation in taxes. In fact in mostly everything, and prices also sank some. In 1954 it changed again for the worse. Imre Nagy was not a dyed in the wool communist. He wanted to let individual farmers live."

Asked whether party membership on the whole was satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things were going, respondent explained: Communism by itself is dissatisfaction. The communists themselves're anxious to get to higher positions and kill each other politically. I knew a party secretary in a plant who rose and sank, rose and sank again. There is a saying in Hungarian "Birds fly high but come down to die."

Asked what the top leaders of the communist party are like, respondent answers: "They are people not worthy of speaking of."

Asked about their motives, collectively speaking: "It is to enlist as many members as possible, and to Russianize all of Hungary. Of course they would like to get people to hate the West and to fight against it, but by now they must see that this is completely out of question."

Their motives personally speaking: "They are people who are bent on doing things exactly their ways and actually destroy their own country. I couldn't imagine people who are worse. Perhaps they are blinded to realize how much harm and evil they are doing."

Probed for his views on their conviction, respondent comes up with this answer: "I think if they didn't believe in the stated aims of the party they could not act with so much force."

Asked again of their motives and their personality, respondent said: "They would like to be all-powerful masters of the country and they stop at nothing to increase their undisputed power."

Asked about Imre Nagy, respondent says: "He didn't act on the same lines as the other communists. He peasantry a great deal. He was smarter and better than the others."

Comparing the motives of rank and file members and those of the leadership, respondent thinks: "Rank and file members may have joined for no other reason but to secure livelihood for their families. Leaders are not forced to become leaders. It is uncontrolled ambition that is driving them. They should know good from evil and they cannot be isolated

## XI. THE POLITICAL LIFE

A. Before 1948. Respondent explains that he had no interest in political life before '48 because he was too young, and accordingly he had no sympathies with any particular party.

Asked about his attitudes toward the communist party before 1948, the respondent explains that he was too young at that time to judge.

His knowledge of Bela Kun and the communist party and his attitudes are expressed in the following words: "I learned about them in history in school, but that didn't mean much to me. I was not interested in them at all." - Probed as to whether he heard the answers from other people: "People could not afford to talk much about the past. They were too much concerned with the problems of the present."

B. Communist party after 1948. Here are the types of communist party members that the respondent cares to mention: "1) People who did not like to work much. Some of them enjoyed at least some part time employment for being functionaries of the communist party. 2) Many workers were required to join the communist party and were threatened with losing their jobs. There were many who joined, but there were others who left rather than join the party. Still most of those who joined hated communism. I met only one idealist communist worker in Sopron. 3) There were others who believed the communist promises, ~~because~~ because before 1948, the communists made real promises and their behavior was not so dirty yet.

Asked about actual contact with communist party members, respondent answered: "There was the party secretary of our village who was a neighbor. He like communism as much as I did. He ignored orders about giving speeches and about making collectives. He managed to explain to his superiors that nobody including himself wanted to have a collective in our village."

Asked about his views on their attitudes toward the ~~party~~ party: "Respondent says that this party secretary, friends of his as well as others of whom he heard, lately turned more and more against the party because they got sick and tired of it."

Asked about changes in party policies respondent says: "It changed in so far as living standards were always promised to change for the better and it changed for the worse. It was also a change that the communists cursed the West more and more since 1952 organized worker's guard was on duty in plants on national holidays

(Interviewer's note: Gyor-Sopron county is usually referred to only as Sopron County because that was the original name of the county, and Gyor-Sopron county is actually the amalgamation of these two Gyor and Sopron counties.) Collectives were dissolved in the last few days of the revolution. Later from letters he learned that they were ~~xxxxxxx~~ restored after the revolution"-

Asked what in his opinion was the reason for disillusion, respondent answers: "The members always had disagreements and they had too ~~xxx~~ small an income. It is true that there were ~~xxx~~ some "model collectives" which were completely tax free and were even subsidized. People were aware of this even before the one who issued the orders knew it."

Probed as to whether he knows of any other dissolutions, but during the revolution, respondent answered: ~~XX~~ that in 1953 several collectives were dissolved in Vas County, perhaps even ~~mosatof~~ some of them during the rule of Imre Nagy. After Imre Nagy was kicked out of office, the operators tried to restore these collectives but most people didn't comply.

Asked what kind of agricultural system he would like ideally to see in an independent Hungary, respondent answered: "Individual farming and a lot of mechanization, and there should be some changes in the land reform, because as it was carried out it wasn't right. Land owners should have been left enough to make a good living for themselves. Take for ~~xxxxxxx~~ instance Prince Esterhazy. He was deprived of every possession and was not left anything to live on. It's true he had an immense vast fortune and it was right to take away most of it, only a little bit should have been left to him. That should have been done."

The ones who asked for vacations were granted them without much further ado. When I was on vacation, I could well use it for helping on our farm."

E. Agriculture. Asked whether he would have preferred to live in the city, respondent says: "I have a dislike for big cities, but I would have liked to go to live in Sopron. I would have preferred to live in Sopron (Interviewer's note: Sopron is a middle-sized town, a beautiful old-type Hungarian town.) I would have liked to be in Sopron because there I could have spent a free Sunday going to see my motion pictures, and I would have preferred to be there because I would have had a better choice in shopping.

Asked ~~he~~ about who had a better diet, respondent says that though neither of them had a good diet, still it was the agricultural workers who had it somewhat better/

Asked about the general standard of living, respondent said that he found it equally low whether in the case of city workers or in the case of farm workers.

Asked who had an easier time of it politically respondent is again inclined to say that neither of them had an easy time, and it is only when he is pressed that he says that perhaps the industrial workers had it easier. When asked in what respect he, he had this answer: "They worked only regular working hours, and they had less difficulties with the AVO. The peasants, particularly the well-to-do peasants were harassed too much because of non-delivery of crops, of livestock and of produce.

When asked about when collectivization was first introduced in Hungary, respondent answered: "I thought that productivity would drop to 50 percent because of inefficiency resulting from this collectivization."

This is his current opinion of collectivization as it had been practiced: "It could not have any good results. In neighboring villages, members of collective farms just didn't like to work and they quarreled and awful lot. No one thought of the \_\_\_\_\_ as of his and most of them were rather anxious to get rid of it."

Asked who in his opinion objected more strongly to collectivization, the respondent says: "Most of our categories of peasantry objected fiercely to collectivization."

(Interviewer's note: I hope that it was made clear that there were no collective farms in the village of our respondent.)

Asked whether he heard of collectives being dissolved he explains: "In Vas county, and in Sopron county,

Asked why he held that particular job, respondent explained: "I wanted to work with railroad engines. I wanted to work with railroad engineers. I had to serve six months minimum preparatory period in the capacity of a railroad worker. That is to say at railroad building. After that I had to serve six months minimum as a train man."

Answering questions, respondent explains that he had very good relations with his fellow workers, and they had confidence in each other.

Asked about his relations with superiors, he explained: "Those relations were not too good. The first officer was very severe in giving days off. Another one who had business with us was eager to help us go home when we finished work, but let us stand and wait, and took his time finishing his other business. A third one who had much business with us was just fine. There were several among them who had business with us only once in a while and there was a communist among them whom we all hated."

Answering questions, respondent tells us that he was not afraid of his superiors at all and talking of their competence, he says that: "our training officer was just perfect. The majority of the other officers however, were not competent at all."

Queried about his satisfactions and dissatisfactions on the job, respondent says: "Our duty was too hard. We had to work too much, and particularly too much in a row; and we were not paid well at all."

(Interviewer's note: The next question is, do you feel that your fellow workers were good at their jobs, and the interviewer repeated the sentence when he saw that its actual contents were not understood. In spite of repetition, respondent still didn't catch it but this must be considered conspicuous because otherwise respondent seemed very intelligent.)

This is the answer he provided: "My fellow workers felt just as I did about being over-worked and under paid." (Only after having provided this answer, did respondent come up with an answer to the actual question: "They were all good workers, hard workers.")

Asked whether superiors praised workers for jobs well done, respondent answers: "No praise was necessary, because one knew what to do."

Asked about the Hungarian health and compensation programs, here is respondent's answer: "Health insurance was OK. The physicians tried to do all right. The ones I knew were liked by the employees."



"It was difficult to get fairly standard spare parts even for bicycles. Bicycle tires were hard to get and were of very poor quality. Bicycle chains were even less available. It was almost and in most cases impossible to get bicycle chains- sometimes it was hard to get brooms. It was also hard and almost impossible to get flashlight batteries.

Respondent doesn't know of any under the counter sales, but he knows of blackmarket and he says that he had to buy bicycle chains for instance on the blackmarket. He knew of one "black butcher" which means a butcher who butchered pigs and calves and cattle secretly and sold their meat secretly. He even knew of even more secret slaughter of pigs and calves during the summer which was done by peasants, but in the cases he is referring to they didn't seal the meat but kept it for their own families supply.

Respondent says that blackmarket butchering was pretty dangerous and the ones caught received terms of two to three years in jail.

D. Working conditions. Here is respondent's description of what he actually did on their farm: "I usually got up at 5AM. I fed the animals, I mean four cows and four calves, one hog and three or four pigs which were about four to six months old, and three or four little pigs. ~~There~~ About thirty hens and sixty to seventy chickens were fed by my mother. At six-thirty or six o'clock, I went out to the fields to work. At noon I took a lunch. After noon I worked out in the field again, and came home by about seven or eight o'clock. It was about eight or nine that I fed the cows again."

Here's how the respondent describes what he actually did on the railroad: "If the train which I had to accompany left at dawn, I went to the neighboring town to sleep in the railroader hotel the night before. I was about thirty to thirty-five hours continually on the job. I checked on railroad cars and received them and unhooked them and hooked them to the right place and delivered them to their destination. Often I spent forty or fifty hours on ~~the job~~ without interruption. In such cases I slept mostly in railroader's hostles. These were provided for us without our being billed to pay for ~~it~~ them and it contained clean beds and good equipment. But often I was just sitting in the office of the railroad station and this is how I had my night's rest."

Asked how he traveled to the job, respondent explained "I went by bicycle to the next railroad station, and that railroad station was about four miles from our village. It was from that railroad station that I went to the place of my duty which was in a neighboring town/

One Sunday free in a month. I worked about three hundred to three hundred and fifty hours a month. Or you might say seventy hours per week. There was a dismaying organization in the practical workings of the Hungarian railroads."

About sixty to seventy forints per month were deducted from the wages of the respondent. His union dues amounted to one and one half percent of his wages, and he was compelled to order the party newspaper to subscribe to it.

He had not premium or extra pay. He had no secondary source of income. Members of the household, other than the head of the family didn't work in order to supplement the family income. Respondent didn't get any wage increases over the last five years.

C. Prices: Asked where he and his family bought food, respondent smiles: "We grew most of our produce and bought a little in State stores."

(Interviewer's note: contrary to widespread American practise, Hungarian farmers - grew not only crops but the vegetables, potatoes, beans, peas and so on, even poppy seed and all kinds of things that grow in a vegetable garden which are used in a typical Hungarian household).

Respondent knows so little of differences in prices and qualities that he doesn't care to make any comment on them.

Respondent bought part of his clothing in State stores and had others custom made. Asked about the quality of goods like clothing, whether it was greater during some years than during others, respondent says: "It depended upon the price. The price of poor quality goods was always much lower than those of better and good quality goods."

Speaking of changes in the differences of prices, respondent says: "The State stores often lowered the prices of goods that didn't sell well, and raised the prices of essential foods and commodities."

Here are observations of respondent about the availability of goods: "Often there was no lard in stores. On several occasions there was no bread in the stores of our village and it happened that there was none for an entire week. In such cases we had to borrow from others- the miner store in a neighboring town was always well supplied with goods because the miners said that they wouldn't go down to the shafts to work unless they were supplied with essential goods."

X. THE ECONOMIC LIFE

A. The standard of living: Respondent is apparently very unassuming in his demands on life: "We met the essential needs of everyday life," He says when asked how they got along financially. t

Asked to describe their standard of living he explained: as far as food is concerned: "We didn't butcher two or three hogs a year, but only one."

Clothing: "Not as well as before '45, but our situation was influenced also by the loss of my father." - At a probe respondent answers that he has three decent suits."

On housing: "We had three rooms, a kitchen, a ~~pantry~~ pantry and a barn."

Respondent considered it a "luxury" to buy and keep a motorcycle.

Respondent had most difficulty in meeting his needs in clothing.

Respondent has already described the changes in the standard of living as it showed in his own life.

When respondent is asked what is particularly missing he bends his head and he says: "My father." (Interviewers note: Interviewer knows well that this isn't the correct answer to the question, but he thinks that psychologically it is worth putting down that respondent feels that even economically the loss of his father is the severest loss.)

Asked whether anything has been gained, respondent answered bitterly: "Bad experiences."

Respondent feels that their living standard constantly declined from 1948 to 1956.

Here is a family respondent knew personally that was better off than any other: "They had twenty-one acres, the family had no other children but four boys who ranged from 16 to 26. The father and one boy worked on the farm, and the other two boys worked in a plant, brought money home, so their incomes added up."

At a probe, respondent answers: "They had good clothing and they had even a motorcycle, and had an electric ~~feed grinder~~ feed grinder."

Respondent answered from the angle of a farmer what accounted for the low living standard: "The policies of the communist, the communist oppression, individual farmers had too much of their crops and livestock taken away."

B. Income: As a railroad man, respondent earned 1400 forints per month, but he feels like explaining more about it: "I had to work day and night. I had only

*family owned  
feed grinder*

IX. MAJOR DISSATISFACTIONS AS FELT IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A. These were respondent's main dissatisfactions in communist Hungary: "The question why a nation has to fear always, why it cannot live in freedom in its own country and why it does not have the basic necessities of life.

B. When asked about annoyances, what seemed to get most on his nerves, he says: "When we were called so very often to the council house (editor's note: City Halls- communist name) to settle pending issues of the compulsory delivery of farm products."

From 1953-1954 they were reluctant to admit even those who had good grades and wanted to study at any rate."

Respondent thinks that the teachers were "good fellows" and the ones I knew were competent".

D. Indoctrination: Youth's reaction to communist indoctrination was complete rejection: "Many openly resisted communist teachings in schools. They were dismayed at listening to so much baloney."

Respondent thinks that indoctrination failed because: "Youth likes to learn about its own country's literature and history, and to learn things in which he is interested by himself. Knowledge of foreign people he doesn't care to know won't interest youth. Even classes of Hungarian literature we studied Russian literature more than Hungarian- youth felt its own poverty. Day by day they felt poor they were and how much they had to respect people they didn't even like to see. (Editor's note: Unquestionably, respondent refers to Russians.) Two or three classes in school could not erase the feelings of people."

Asked whether youth was ever sympathetic to communists: "Youth were raised from early childhood in communist orphanages to become good communists- they may have believed in communism, and there were places in the country where nearly illiterate people from remote farms who were like animals were taught nothing else but communism."

VIII. THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH

A. Definition: Respondent calls youth young people between the ages of 16-24 or 25.

B. The part of youth. Respondent says summarily that played the most important role in the Hungarian revolution.

*Oppression* ↓ Asked ~~why~~ they did, respondent says: "Youth felt the ~~oppression~~ of communism. Neither its working conditions nor its livelihood or its ~~inter-pay-~~ <sup>work</sup>ment opportunities were the ones that youth desired - above all the constant fear AVH made youth restless. It was a dreadful experience for youth. It was a dreadful experience to live constantly in the danger of loss of freedom, and to torture just because someone listened to something he wanted to on the radio."

Here is the respondent's view, why it was the youth who took the lead:

"Youth saw life in the West and saw the level of general intellectual advancement, ~~by~~ often promised by the communists to rise in Hungary, sank rather than rose."  
- At a probe, how youth saw this, respondent answered that youth learned it from the foreign radio stations; and he goes on explaining: "We were a lot of nonsense by the communists, and were dismayed at hearing so much trash- youth was together in closely knit bunches in schools, and so were railroaders."

During the revolution, "older people" admired youth and said: "Oh, I wish I were young. I'd go with them to fight," ~~xxxxxx~~

C. Educational system. Here is respondent's attitude toward education in Hungary: "In most places, the principals of communism were regularly taught and many teachers smiled when they had to teach all kinds of nonsenses. They even teach that inventions of others were invented by Russians. Some among us asked, how come everything was invented by Russians, and our teachers said: "Well it seems that Russians invented everything and we laughed."

Asked about restriction of vocational choice, respondent says: "Mostly children of party members and of members of collective farms were the ones selected for college. There were a few students so talented that it was too conspicuous to suppress them by not admitting them to college- in the years 1950, '51, '52, they wanted every one of us (editor's note: respondent is peasant boy mind you)x, to go to college."

He believes that churches should teach religion extensively:

"Religion should be taught by priests and ministers in schools. There should be regular teaching hours and children should attend them. Children aren't mature enough to make up their minds whether they want to attend classes in religion or not. If it depended upon children they might not go to any other classes either."

Asked about the church's responsibility for setting moral codes and standards and in such things as movies plays and so on, he says:

"Not at all. It's none of the business of the church."

Respondent answers with a single but very resolute: "No" when asked whether churches should take an active political role in an independent Hungary.

D. The Jewish minority: Asked whether the Jewish religion also has been hurt by communism, respondent says: "It didn't suffer as much as the Catholic religion."

Asked about details, he comes up with this answer: "The communists spoke and acted against the Catholic religion. They arrested a great many priests and dissolved the convents, but I never heard of anything similar done against the Jews."

Asked how communist rule affected the Jews in Hungary respondent says that there were no Jews in his neighborhood at all.

Asked whether there were many Jews who were communists; "I don't know whether or not many- but I know Jewish communists as well as I know Christians."

Respondent disclaims any knowledge of the attitudes and actions of Jews during the revolution.

Respondent is surprised when he is told that some people have said that the Jews do not want an independent Hungary;

"I wonder whether you speak of Hungarian Jews?"

When the respondent is told that the question refers to Hungarian Jews he goes on:

"I don't believe so. They are Hungarians too. Every sane Hungarian wants freedom for his country." - Respondent never heard the word pogrom, when he is told what a pogrom is like, he says: "I never saw a sign or anybody trying to do anything against the Jews. Germans did such things in the Second World War."

## VII. RELIGION

A. The role of religion: When respondent is asked what part religion played in Hungarian life, he answered: "It ought to have had an important role in Hungarian life, but communism forbade religion. It practically outlawed religion, but people who were religious were able to resist communism better than those who had no such stronghold."

Respondent thinks that it was the Roman Catholic religion which was the hardest hit, but he cannot tell why it was the protestant religions which were persecuted most. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Respondent has no doubt that religion was a bulwark against communism in Hungary: "Yes, yes, for instance, ~~they~~ they forbade going to church, and Party members were purged from the Party, kind of excommunicated from the Party if they did visit churches. Still many people rather lost their jobs, but went to church. They clung to their religious convictions so strongly that they rather faced losing their jobs. Very much depended on their religious education, both in the family and in school, but religious people resisted communism more than any others."

B. Personal religious life: respondent thinks is as important a factor in his life as in the life of his parents.

He thinks that he is just about as religious as the average person in Hungary.

(Interviewers note: respondent seems to have kept pondering about the question whether religion was a bulwark against communism in Hungary, because he volunteers this information all of a sudden.)

"A person without religion doesn't know where the limits are and very often he crosses over to a mass of immorality. It is much easier to persuade one to become a communist who is not a devout catholic or protestant. A person without religion doesn't know God and he often curses him."

These are the details of the actual concrete aspects of the respondent's religious life. He goes to church every Sunday and ~~participates~~ ~~participates~~ about twice a year ~~to~~ he receives sacraments. Of confession and communion about twice a year. He gives the church regular support.

C. The role of churches: respondent believes in the separation of church and State: "The Church should not engage in dealing in matters of the State."



Respondent seems to have come to an agreement with himself because when he is asked whether generally speaking one could continue a friendship if the other fellow became a minor party functionary: "It depends upon how that person behaves as a person.

D. Juvenile Delinquency: Respondant does not know much more about juvenile delinquency than its dictionary like definition: "If a minor commits unlawful actions, his actions are called juvenile delinquency."

Answering a probe, whether he could give us any example, he says that there were very few such cases in the area in which he was living. He explains that he knows of cases of juvenile delinquency only from papers, and knows no example of his own experience or of hearsay in their vicinity.

Respondant has never heard the word hooligan.

Speaking of Jampecs respondent says: "If one dance a Jampi dance (interviewersnote: Jampi is the diminutive form of Jampecs)- no one would like to even see such a dance. Its a crazy jumping around. Policemen would get such people out of the bar room and they would take them to the police station if they didn't quit., upon the warning of the police." - When the respondent is told by interviewer that this still does not give the definition of who a Jampec is, he volunteers the following information: "Jampecs dressed differently. One hates to see people dressedlike that, most people would say, but I don't care."

B. Sex patterns: Speaking in changes in marriage and in the ways that young people court each other, during the last ten years, respondent says that much more young people, and he means 18 and 19 year olds married, than before; and he says that many girls sank morally pretty much, and he thinks that it is also a significant change that the period of acquaintance and courting before marriage became in a great many cases shorter than before.

When asked what has happened to marriage in communist Hungary, he says that there were many more divorces than before, that people made up their minds easier and was quicker to divorce. Engagement time became from one year to one and a half and two years. Of course he says it was more important how well they were acquainted than the time measured by months or years.

Asked about the role of parents in courtship, engagement, etc. he says that in good families the parents counsel the children just as before; but he adds, "Communist bums" don't care after they're of age. They don't give a hoot about the opinion of their folks.

According to respondents information there were no brothels in Hungary and there was only secret prostitution.

Speaking of the sexual morality of convinced communists, respondent says that since they don't know God, they don't know any moral laws and don't care what religion tells them, and so they have no moral inhibitions at all.

C. Friendship with Communists: Respondent thinks that he would break up friendship with a friend at the very moment that he learned that his friend joined the communist party and became a minor functionary.

Curiously when this interviewer asks the respondent about a communist friend of his, he tells this story: "I had a next door neighbor. He was a fine young man and he hated communism and party bosses, but he had joined the party and he was in it. In fact he was the party secretary of our village; but at heart, he was no communist at all. He was anxious to outwit his bosses so that no orders that we disliked would be carried out, and he did everything to avoid carrying out any orders detrimental to the people. I have no reason you can see for turning against him, and we didn't tell him anything bad during the revolution. He was with us"- Respondent also explains that none of the communist party members in his village was active, and that they actually hated party leadership. At the same time, they hung together so well, that none of them was expelled from the communist party.

## VI. FAMILY LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

A. Communist effects: Asked about family life in Hungary during the last ten years, respondent reports that the life of his own family remained the same as it had been before. Members of his family were very thoughtful and considerate toward each other. Other families were caused very great difficulty by the shortage of homes. Many people shied away he says from founding families because they thought that they could not afford decent homes.

Comparing his family with three examples of families of different attitudes, respondent says that the family which was not much influenced by the communist regime is the one most similar to his own family. Asked about the "typical Hungarian family" he feels embarrassed and emphasizes that there just isn't such a thing as a "typical Hungarian family." After he receives encouragement from the interviewer to generalize, he says that perhaps the family grew closer together is the most similar to the majority of Hungarian families.

Asked about how children were brought up during the last ten years, respondent says that most peasant families brought the children up to be good devout religious people, and it is this fact to which he attributes the "Unquestionable truth" that percentage wise, the smallest number of communists were to be found amongst peasants.

Asked whether some families were effected more than others in this way respondent says the few communists among peasants didn't let their children go to religious instructions and those people never taught their children to pray to God, and he remarks that a person who cannot pray is certainly a very unlucky person who can be pitied.

Respondent insists that communism had no influence upon his family. The only thing he thinks worth mentioning was that sometimes he quarreled with his mother because both of them hated to go to the city council where they were ordered to appear, and they wanted always the other person to go there and answer why they didn't deliver this or that, or why they hadn't paid their taxes yet.

Respondent thinks that there were families able to hold on to the old ways, and he says that most of these were peasants and there were also many families of workers.

Asked why these people didn't succumb to communist influence, respondent said that such people preferred not to be traitors and that they thought of real communists as traitors.

Party members received easier work to perform, and higher wages, generally speaking."

"As far as becoming members of the intelligentsia is concerned, only such were admitted to institutions of higher learning whose fathers were caucus members or party functionaries. I wanted to become a student of a vocational high school of machine industry, but since I was the son of an individual farmer, I received no scholarship and I couldn't afford to go to such a vocational high school."

This is the answer of respondent to the question, "What kind of individual would "get ahead" in communist Hungary; "The ones who thought that communism was invincible, the ones who pushed Stalin's card. Knowledge and skill didn't count much. The Party helped its own members over all hurdles."

D. Favored groups: speaking of certain groups that get more out of society than they deserve, respondent says that there is no question about the communist party members being favored above everybody else, and he says that party members in all social classes were favored above the others- "Of course," he says, people who produced more in work than the norm also received more."

than 36 acres were called kulaks. Later such with more than twenty-four acres.

Respondent feels that he belongs to the class of the middle peasants.

In respondent's view peasants were the hardest hit by communism, and the ones who fell into the kulak category were hit worse than anybody else he explains. "Small peasants worked half as much on their small farms and still had more income left than the kulaks. They were considered people who had been have-nots and they were not so badly pressed as the other farmers".

Asked about how the different classes felt about each other, respondent says that peasants on the whole thought of workers as belonging to one and the same group; workers and peasants, "but workers and city people in general thought that peasants didn't work much and had it better.

The intelligentsia: respondent says that they fell into two groups, one the intelligentsia of the previous years who were left in their positions only as long as the communists didn't have replacements for them, and respondent explains that these people were thought of usually as nice people, easy to deal with, but the other group were not liked by peasants he said. The communists trained them only half way and they had to be reliable as far as party ideology is concerned and most of them were not competent, but rude and haughty. These neophytes he emphasizes were much worse than the members of the former intelligentsia, and people were particularly irate about such who rose from their own ranks and became worse, than people who had never been peasants or workers before. Some of them were badly beaten up by irate citizens, he says.

Speaking of communist leadership he says that peasants had no other feelings for them, but hatred and contempt.

C. Social Advancement: When respondent is asked how an individual might advance himself in communist Hungary, he first turns to the farmers and comes up with this answer: "Among peasants, the one who bred animals and knew how to seal them and particularly the ones who operated dairies were the most fortunate, and they were the ones who could make both ends meet."

"Among the workers, only party members could succeed in getting ahead. While there were ~~only~~ only 800-900 forints paid for a non-party member, thousand to 1200 forints were given to party members who worked in the same jobs

## V. SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDES

Respondent's father was a farmer. Respondent doesn't know what his father's annual income was before or during the war. After the war it was on the average of 4-5,000 forints annually. This income lessened year after year. Respondent's parents eighteen acres and a house. Both of his parents had only six grades of grade school education.

Respondent's father died in a Soviet prisoner of war camp and from then on his widowed mother was responsible for the farm and had to take care of it with the help of nobody else but her two sons.

Social classes: respondent is not at ease in understanding what social classes mean. It seems that the expression itself was something not much used by him or by those with whom he had regular contact. First he thinks that we ask about political parties, then he is explained what we mean, he says that the Hungarian society could be divided in the following social classes: workers, of heavy industry and workers of light industry- small peasants- middle peasants- kulaks- intelligentsia- students- communist bosses. When the respondent adds communist bosses it happens only in response to a probing question and he makes the following remark: "I hate the word itself, I am so fed up with everything it stands for."

As gratification, respondent explains that by intelligentsia respondent means teachers, doctors, engineers and office personnel, newspaper writers and people in similar professions.

Respondent had a regular contact with all three layers of the peasant society he explains. He also had a considerable amount of intercourse with workers, particularly railroad workers- he had least contact with office personnel.

Asked about his attitudes toward these groups, respondent explains that he thinks that most people who belong to office personnel were rude, nervous and incompetent. His remark refers, he adds above all to newly recruited and trained office personnel; respondent says that small peasants, that is to say peasants who have less than 15 acres were the ones who had received land in the course of the land reform, and these were mostly people who had worked before as farm hands; "middle peasants" were called farmers who had acres between 15 and 22. These people had to pay more taxes than the small farmers- the worst off were the kulaks, the respondent explains. Even the name "kulak" was considered a bad name by communist functionaries. For a while, respondent explains people who had more

IV. EXPECTATIONS OF HELP FROM THE WEST DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. respondent is ready to call a spade a spade and goes under a \_\_\_\_\_ when he is asked what he expected from the West during the revolution by saying "We wished that the West had given us military help so that communism could have been annihilated. If we had had arms we would have liked them completely."

Asked about the basis on which he formed his expectations, he says: "The West is strong and you can expect help only from powerful countries.- respondent explains that they always trusted that in this deadly fight between the free world and the world of slavery, the free world would assist such nations as standing up and fighting for their freedom. He explains that he personally never had a doubt that the free world would not let Hungary down if it rises against slavery. He explains that by "military help" he means arms more than anything and he says that he as well as all the people whom he knew convinced that a very little help could go a long ways.

Respondent didn't come into contact with any foreigners between October 23rd and the time of his escape.

pig delivery in December. Miserable as such a gain seems, to be it was very important for millions of farmers.

"The communist system was greatly weakened and shaken in Hungary. The communists are henceforth always afraid of another revolution.

"Communism lost its reputation all over the world because of the inhuman atrocities committed by Russians and because of the sneak attack that they launched on the 4th of November."



over the radio and of which news came to them from people who came from Győr and other towns. Respondent says that people were extremely happy and they were very confident that communism would never come back to Hungary and they could live from then on in peace and in complete freedom.

It was on November 4th, when respondent came home from church that he heard that the Budapest radio was again in the hands of the communists and that they announced their recapture of Budapest and they also announced their taking over again.

Respondent said that people were flabbergasted and spoke with the utmost of anger, consternation and awe, and horror about the return of the Russians and the communists. Respondent says that people were all unanimous in their decision not to let their freely elected council go. As they gathered in groups in the streets they all talked freely about the events, cursed the Russians and the communists, and resolved that they would guard their freedom which they thought they would deserve after so many years of slavery.

Respondent remarks that according to news he just received the other day from home, people have really been carrying out their revolutions thus far, and the revolutionary council is still in its place and not one person was deported, jailed or replaced by a communist.

On the 7th of November, respondent went to the railroad office in the larger town of the neighborhood to see what was going on. As he appeared on the railroad station, the rail officers called him into the office and were anxious to give him new assignments; but respondent declined and asked them to give him assignments only in the next few days and he went to Sopron to find out what his chances were to flee to the West, because by then he heard of mass deportations to Siberia and he feared for his future because of his having taken part in the civilian guard. He took a train to Sopron, and inquired about ways of fleeing. He was told that he should not venture alone, but should have a companion, and he decided that he would do so. In the next few days he talked over with one of his friends how they should flee and they decided that they would take very little with them and cross the border near Sopron. On the 10th they went to Sopron to flee, crossing the border into Austria. Next day on the 11th they did so without encountering any difficulties.

D. CONCLUSION: This is respondent's answer to the question: what he thinks of Hungary's gains because of the revolution: "The farmers were spared the annual

convened in one of the neighboring villages which was the administrative center of these three villages formed an administrative unit. People went with flags, respondent also carried a flag. As people convened in the assembly hall of the city hall of that village, a farmer of the age of 45 or 47 stood up and spoke. After a few words, enthusiastically commenting on the events in Hungary, this farmer suggested that the people assembled who rightfully represent the population of the three villages, elect eight people from each of those three villages, and these three times eight people form a nominating committee. The motion was carried by an enthusiastic voice vote, and the nominating committee was formed in a matter of a few minutes. Respondent was also elected. Now the same farmer who made the first motion ~~maxxi~~ ~~xxxx~~ himself suggested twenty four names, and respondent says that in part because his suggestions were very sound, in part because people wanted to act quickly, he received approval in every case. Now the nominating committee of the three vilalges held their own caucuses and they named two people, the suggestions of the same people who made the motions before. The nominating committee again joined the crowd and the people elcted one of the two nominees. He became now chairman of the revolutionary council. He was a 37 or 38 year old small farmer. Next people elected a 15 member council and then they also elected members of a national guard(or rather: civilaian guard). Respondent was also elected a member of the National Guard. Next day, the chairman of the reolutionary council got sub-machine guns for the members of the ciivilian guard ~~andxxxx~~ for the members of the civilian guard from ~~the~~ Gyor.

Respondent finds it very characteristic of the entire atmosphere of the revolution that it was for two hours that the bars were opened after this election so that people could blow off steam. Otherwise the bars were closed so that no sentiments could be whipped up or get beyond control.

Next two days, on the 27th and on the 28th, the only major event in respondent's village was that the revolutionary council annoned with the help of drumming up people in the ancient traditon that the people of Budapest were in bad need of food and that everybody who feels like donating food for them should bring their gifts to the city hall. And so it happened. In the tiny village of less than 500 population two large truckloads were collected, and respondent recalls that it was touching to see that utterly poor people donated far beyond what could be expected from them.

Respondent finds it very characteristic thã in these few days people gathered in groups quite often in the streets and talked over events which they heard

and a police officer shouted to the people: "We're with you boys!" The crowd cheered and they shouted more and more slogans like "Down with communism," or "We don't need any Russians." And the crowd went to the freedom statue. There the council member announced that the city council approved of the action of the people. He was cheered and people started destroying the gravestones which were there to mark the graves of Russian "heros," who when they conquered that part of Hungary. In the spring of 1945, high school students got notes from the high school gymnasium and they tied those to the statue and people tried to pull it down. But those very strong ropes broke twice. Now people decided that steel ropes would be the right means to pull down the statue. They got steel ropes from a tractor station. While people were waiting for the ropes they broke the gravestones of the Russians into small pieces. With the help of those steel ropes, people toppled the statue half-way and had to abandon their attempts at that time because the statue proved too strong for them. People sang the national anthem again. They went home in peace and with shining happy faces.

When respondent and the railroaders went back to the station in the evening, two Russian trucks and one tank came on the route, and as the Russian soldiers saw the large crowd, they jumped off the trucks with sub-machine guns in their hands. People shouted at them and told them that they had nothing against the Russian people, but they would like to see them go home. The Russians didn't stir. When people got back to the railroad station, the two railroad men who had spoken at the statue, spoke again, and suggested to the people that they go home now to their families, and that they see what happens tomorrow.

Railroaders organized one train to take the people home to their families and it was on that train that the respondent also returned to his village and to his family.

Next day, the 25th of October, respondent worked on their farm. He saw people happy, and he saw them in small groups talking things over and he reports that they were all happy. He answers the probing question whether people decided to break up the collective farm, respondent explains that there was no collective farm in their neighborhood village, or rather in the rural community that belonged administratively to the village.

October 26th was a rainy day and respondent didn't go out to the field to do any field work. In spite of the rain, the population of three villages

they parked the train waiting for one which would take them home. As the train arrived which would take them home, respondent explains that he saw all people very happy and smiling and that he experienced the first time in his life that there was nobody to give orders to the others. He explains that he never saw anything similar to that friendly atmosphere which was prevalent there. At one railroad station which they passed, national colors were distributed to people, and the railroaders stuck small pieces of the national color in place of the communist emblem on their caps.

When they arrived at their destination, the railroaders said that they should go demonstrating, not explaining but declaring their solidarity with the people of Budapest who were out to fight for freedom. It was at 2 PM that the railroaders coming from all directions to that station got out on the street with flags, and a great many civilian people joined them. They found the students of that town already in the streets demonstrating. All went to the Petofi statue in the Main Square of the city.

This Petofi statue was about 100 yards "freedom statue." Demonstrators laid a beautiful wreath on the Petofi statue and many other people put flowers on his pedestal. They sang the National Anthem. Two railroaders got up and spoke of freedom, and the sixteen demands of the nation were read aloud. The crowd which was swelling all the time cheered when it heard the sixteen points. Part of the crowd suggested that they destroy the Russian "Liberty statue." Others suggested that they go first to the city council and that they ask for the opinion of the city council. At the same time they made crystal clear, the respondent reports that their action would not depend upon their approval, but they wondered what the council would say. As they arrived at the city hall, they took off the sign with the communist emblem from above the entrance. A railroader of the age of between 35 and 40 years suggested that three railroaders, three students and three other civilians go to the city council. People selected these nine persons and then they asked for the CROWD's approval. The delegation proceeded and after about ten minutes an official of the city council came back with the delegation, and they all went back to the "Liberty statue" after the official of the city council declared that they didn't have anything against destroying the "Liberty Statue". On their way they stopped for a few minutes at the building of the police. They tore off the communist emblem and demanded that the door be opened. When there was no response, the crowd wanted to break it in. At that moment, a third floor window opened

III. CHRONOLOGY OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES, ACTIONS,  
ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

A. On the 22nd respondent was home in his village and didn't experience anything different from everyday life.

SZEKESFEHERVAR

On the 23rd he went to Hajmasker to resume his railroad duty, and it was there that he heard from people that the revolution broke out in Budapest. Respondent answered a probing question that he can recall that he heard the word revolution used. He adds that he thought right away that communism would be over and out pretty soon because a revolution would spread to all the people and it would spell doom for communism. He tells us that the communist railroad officer who gave them their daily assignments looked very embarrassed and spoke in a halting way, stammering several times, and they interpreted it as a consequence of the news that they received from Budapest. When at night he returned to Szekesfehervar and they got off the train people took the communist emblems from their caps without asking much, and respondent tells that he actually was happy about it and never thought that he would be happy in seeing someone tearing something from his clothing. At night he slept in the railroad hostels. He was awakened from his sleep during the night by a terrible engine noise. He as well as others sleeping in the same room, looked out the windows and saw tanks. He knew he explains where these tanks came from. It was Hajmasker a Russian base, the largest aside from Szombathely. And he explains that these bases assumed real importance since the Russians got out of Austria. At three A.M. respondent left with a train as had been scheduled. It was a freight train which he accompanied, and its destination was a town in Vas county. Before they left Szekesfehervar he as well as his colleagues decided that they would leave Vas county, and went to the office and declared their intention of staying in Szekesfehervar, respectively to go to their home towns. But the railroad officers pleaded with them to take a train from the station for otherwise they would have a jam, and so they decided to comply with their request and to take the train out to the next station. This is what they did:

They went to the nearest station and his colleagues declared that they would not risk their lives for a train or for a good railroad service. If they wanted to risk it they would do so for the Hungarian people and for the freedom of Hungary. The railroad engineer took the locomotive back to Szekesfehervar. He took care of it so that no damage would result from abandoning it. The other railroaders accompanying that freight train stayed at the station where

II, MAJOR SALIENCE AND WARM-UP QUESTION

A. Respondent thinks that the most important things that Americans should know about the events in Hungary during the autumn of 1956 are the following: Americans should know how much the Hungarian people suffered in the revolution. "Think of the many debts of the wounded and the captured, and think particularly of the many tortured after the revolution," respondent says, and he goes on: "We expected armed help from the West, and particularly from the Americans." - Respondent explains that he himself heard he cannot recall on what day, but that he himself heard on one of the following radio stations, he cannot recall which one Radio Free Europe or the Voice of America a message telling the Hungarian people that if they hold out they will get help from the free world. And he explains that it was this radio message which particularly caused Hungarians to expect help from the free world - he also would like to tell the Americans that the farm population of Hungary helped the people of Budapest to survive by generously donating food. He explains that a great many very poor people donated food way above what can be expected from them. He says that these donations in many cases were so magnanimous that the sacrifice that people took upon themselves by donating these amounts amounted to heroism.